companion, thou art beautiful, thou art elegant.) The women then 881
make her sit down on a mat in the middle of the courtyard. The
fiancé presents his gifts. He is accompanied by friends and relatives.
At the end of the ceremony the fiancée is brought back home. Then
the nachimbusa is given great quantities of food in payment of her
work /imali/. Moreover, the nachimbusa takes all the filundu off
the fiancée and appropriates them, except for what she gives to the
nakalamba. Henceforth the fiancée remains alone with her mother.
Her fiancé gives her two other filundu. Thus ends the chisungu cere-
mony.

WEDDING. Mpango (wedding presents). For the wedding proper other 585
gifts are prepared. For this purpose, the shibukombe is again invited.
The fiancé's father says to him: "Take these presents and give them
to the fiancée's parents." The shibukombe carries out the order.
The fiancée's father says: "It is agreed from now on my daughter may
be his wife." Beer, bwali and chickens are then carried in. When
everything is ready /pekanya/, the father-in-law says to the shibukombe
"Tell my son-in-law to tell his mother about it." In the evening, the
fiancée's paternal aunt /nasenge/ is invited to the house.

At the fiancé's. In the evening, the nasenge goes to fetch the fiancée,
her niece, and carrying her on her back /amupapa/, she brings her in-
to the fiancé's hut. When she has brought her inside, she tells her:
"Kakula mushingo," etc. Whereupon she goes outside but stays near
the hut.

Instructions. Immediately the fiancé goes out to receive instructions 585
from the elders. After this instruction, the husband is given two ivory 784
ornaments with which he is to rub his body all night long. The spouses
must not scrape their nails with tupande tubili, for this would cause
the nails to grow out of proportion and fall out /koboloka/ as well as
to make the entire body rot /ondoloka/. They also have been ad-
monished not to blow on the fire in order to fan the flame, as this
would cause them to waste away. Someone else must light and main-
tain the fire during this night.

Actus matrimonialis. The fiancé returns to this hut, where he is a- 585
waited /219/ by the fiancée and ubi faciunt actus conjugalis (where
the marriage is consumated.) If they succeed, they throw burning
firewood outside. All the witnesses waiting in the courtyard utter

cries of joy: "Abantu abengi baisa, bayaula kapundu, balakakasha, balasempula abati: mulenaisha, mulenaisha, muletemesha." If there is no success, silence reigns in the house. At dawn the nasenge (paternal aunt) comes to pick up the unhappy wife and takes her home. This means that the marriage is broken. The crowds who have gathered to celebrate disperse again. (Cases of impotent husbands are rather rare. On the other hand I have heard of cases where the husband was rendered impotent by drugs /miti/ which had been mixed in his food. I know of a verified case right here at Malolé.)

Kuoa (the bath). Once the sexual act has been accomplished, the two spouses get up and at dawn they go to the river. The husband places himself upstream, the wife downstream, as they wash. After the bath they both return to their hut. They find that the hearth fire has been thrown out and that the center of the hut has been whitewashed. They will remain seated without fire.

Lunweno (small vessel). The nasenge comes up holding a small earthenware lunweno in her hand. She lights a new fire near the foot of the bed /ntambaliro/, where she places three small ant nests /tumafwasa/ to hold up the small vessel. Together the three of them (aunt, husband and wife) pick up the small vessel full of water, holding it by the rim with two fingers, and place it on the fire. They wait until the water starts to boil. The aunt /nasenge/ then draws a little water by means of a very small ladle and pours some of it over the hands of both husband and wife.

Kabwali (a small meal). Then the aunt, who has previously brought along some flour, prepared a small meal for the two. When the bwali is cooked, she takes a mouthful /lutoshi/ or a pellet and tosses one into the mouth of each. The spouses then may finish the bwali by themselves. Meanwhile the little vessel remains on the fire until the fire goes out. Before taking it off /ipula/, a present must be found for the aunt who has lent the vessel. The couple give her a chirundu, or mat. Then she takes back her vessel, replacing it by another, called the kanongo.

Kanongo or Kapalwilo. The aunt brings this new little vessel saying: "Eko muleumina ko," i.e., when the couple must /220/ have sexual intercourse, they take bow, arrows and hatchet out of the hut. Together they put water into the little vessel and repeat the preceding ceremony.

Ku bea (shaving). Then razors are brought in to shave their hair. 585 [302]
The nachimbusa shaves the wife, the shibukombe, the husband. They are then annointed with oil for the great mashikulo ceremony.

Mashikulo (Presents and Instructions). Preparation. A mat is spread 585
out on the square, on which a small seat /chipuna/ is placed with a child, a little boy and a little girl, sitting on either side. These two children hold up the little seat with their hands. A parade hatchet /sembe lya mbafi/ is also brought.

The women fetch the wife /nabwinga/, who is dressed up, from the hut and place her on the mat. The men fetch the husband /shibwinga/ leading him by the arm. He sits down on the chipuna next to his wife and between the two children /nshindishi/. He holds the hatchet in his hand. The nachimbusa takes a bow and places it on the wife's legs. Then shouts of joy are uttered by all the villagers, and everybody exclaims: "Bashichisungu bafuma." Everybody gathers together.

Recommendations. The fiancée's father steps forward holding an arrow 585
in his hand, and addresses his daughter with the following words: "My 837
daughter, I give you this man, whom you have known, the one who comes to you at night /kuirwa/ is this man; it is bad for the wife to go to other husbands at night /kuirirwa/.... do not cast your eyes upon other men." He then turns to his son-in-law and says to him: "You are my son-in-law, I recognize you, you are the one who has married my daughter." He then stabs his skin slightly with an arrow shouting: "If anyone takes advantage of your wife, you will kill him and he will be unable to defend himself." The chieftains will declare him a "ngulube" who died because he wanted to steal. "Tatusamba nweno shibili" (One does not wash two wedding vessels), i.e. marriage is one [581]
and indissoluble.

Then it is the turn of the wife's mother to step forward and give 581
advice: "My daughter, be faithful in working for and obeying your 585
husband." She then turns /pindulukira/ to her son-in-law and says to him: "Take care of me and also your wife, do not cast your eyes on other women. The husband must keep his eyes on the road where his wife treads.... /22/ if he notices that she is late in coming, he must go to meet her as a sign of conjugal love."

Other members of the respective families also rise to give their advice. All of them must then offer the couple a number of presents. Once the mashikulo are over, the married couple is taken back to their hut for the love-feast /kusonsha/. 585

Kusonsha (love-feast). Back at the hut, the big banquet begins. A piece of chicken gizzard /kanondo/ is placed on the husband's mouth and then thrown away. A second piece of gizzard, dipped in gravy, is then given to the husband, who eats it this time. The same ceremony is repeated for the wife. Two bwali (thick gruel) have been prepared, one by the husband's mother, the other by the wife's mother, and they are exchanged as a sign of affection. Everyone then starts to eat a great deal, except for the married couple. The latter will not leave their hut for the rest of the day. They do this in honor of the wedding. The people say: "Bali mu mfundwe."

For the husband this wife is called the "kapundu." If she happend to die, and the widower wished to marry another nubile girl, the ceremony would be simplified. There would be no offering of wedding presents /mashikulo/. A pagan chief who may marry several wives, would go through this ceremony only with his first wife /kapundu/, who would become the "mukolo" when the chief started to take other wives who are called "mwinga." 581 587

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not only necessary, but it is the only constituent of his diet which actually ranks as food. All other foodstuffs, whatever their nutritive value, he considers merely as additions to the essential *ubwali*, as snacks to be eaten before the main meal is prepared, or as substitute foods during the hunger months. In fact, there are very few types of food which he eats without porridge, except the various gourds and pumpkins on which he is forced to live when his grain is exhausted, or sweet potatoes—a fairly recent introduction—maize, honey, and fruits of the bush. All these may be eaten freely, but are simply not considered to make a meal. I have watched natives eating the roasted grain off four or five maize cobs under my very eyes, only to hear them shouting to their fellows later, 'Alas, we are dying of hunger. We have not had a bite to eat all day'. This attitude is in complete contrast to that of most of the Southern Bantu, who live almost entirely on maize.[1]

The importance of millet porridge in native eyes is constantly reflected in traditional utterance and ritual. In proverb and folk-tale the word *ubwali* stands for food itself. When discussing his kinship obligations, a native will say, 'How can a man refuse to help his mother's brother who has given him *ubwali* all these years?' or, 'Is he not her son? How should she refuse to make him *ubwali*?' In fact, he uses the word as we do 'bread' in such phrases as 'daily bread' or 'working for our bread and butter', but more constantly, and really with better reason.

In Bemba ceremonial *ubwali* stands for food and indirectly for ordinary daily intercourse. Millet flour, meat, and salt represent the essential foodstuffs in the girl's initiation rite (*icisungu*), and at the founding of a chief's village, when small portions of each are buried beneath the walls of the Sacred Kitchen of the tribe.[2] At marriage a ceremonial exchange of dishes of *ubwali* between the relatives of the bridegroom and the bride occurs at one stage of the proceedings. A tiny lump of the porridge, made with special ritual precautions, is used to touch the lips of any individuals coming to an end of a ritual fast, whether during initiation, marriage, inheritance, &c. Further, an individual may himself announce that he is going to abstain from *ubwali* in order to show that he wishes to put himself in a special class apart from the ordinary activities of his fellows. Men or women

[1] Eaten, of course, in larger quantities and prepared as flour—'mealie-meal'.
[2] Cf. p. 48½

½ [Erratum, should be p. 148. — Analyst]

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may become pregnant before her initiation ceremony (*icisungu*) has been performed. After this rite the marriage ceremony itself takes place, and the bride returns to her husband's hut.

During this period of betrothal and early marriage the bridegroom is fed by his mother-in-law who sends him dishes of cooked food, which he shares with the other young men in the village. If he has married within the family or village, the bride's mother does not consider herself entirely responsible for his food, but still sends him dishes when convenient. The wife meanwhile continues to eat with the women of her own family. After a time a bridegroom may choose to make a separate millet patch of his own as well as clearing the bush and working in his father-in-law's garden, but in either case his nutritive dependence is unchanged. At harvest the grain is carried to the granary of his wife's family and for some years after marriage he is not allowed to build a store of his own. His wife in the meantime is equally dependent on her mother's household. She is not even allowed a fire-place of her own, and is considered unfit to cook or handle her supplies. A young girl's hut has a fire, but no cooking supports for her pots, and she does all her household work as one of her mother's working team. About a year after the marriage ceremony the girl is 'given a fire-place' (*ukumupela shiko*) by her mother, and is allowed to cook in her own hut the flour ground in her mothers'.[1] Hereafter the mother will occasionally give her daughter a basket of millet to grind and cook for herself instead of sharing in the family supplies. It depends how much food is available on any one day, for it is recognized that it is more economical for people to eat together from the same dish. But to be given grain to grind herself, whether for beer or porridge, is a privilege highly appreciated. It is the bride's initial step of independence, for it gives her the right for the first time to distribute food or drink to her own and her husband's friends. As a next step, the son-in-law builds his own granary, if his wife is considered fit to take charge of the grain-supply. The young couple continue to rely on the parent household for additional support, and the wife still cooks and eats her food with her mother and sisters. Later the young married people, themselves probably parents by this time, become completely responsible for their own commissariat, although the woman, if she continues to live in her own village, carries her basket of millet to her mother's

[1] I never saw this ceremony performed, and have no full account of it.

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owner may be the only person able to reap the grain and store it, but he may have to give portions of the crop to others on demand.

The granary itself is individually owned. In fact, it is considered unpardonable even to look into another man's *butala*, and children are taught not to play under the eaves of neighbours' granaries or to peer at the outside too closely. 'You children, you! You stare at the granary of another! That is bad what you do. (*Cabipa.*) Clear out now!' I heard an old grandmother shout on one such occasion.[1] There is no efficient way of closing the opening to a granary, and the stores are often left unguarded hours at a time while their owners are away in their gardens. But the tradition of respect of a neighbour's *butala* is so strong that thefts appear to be very uncommon, and these mud cylinders are the most private hiding-places a man or woman has. Treasured possessions, magic horns, money, or beer may all be concealed safely in a granary, and though the *ubutala* is apparently protected with special charms sometimes, I think these are designed to circumvent sorcerers, who are believed to steal crops by magic means (cf. p. 189), rather than ordinary thieves. The use of padlocks and keys, much affected by sophisticated people near white towns, is not likely to be as effective as the traditional tribal belief in the inviolability of the granary.

The right of disposal of the millet store is determined by a complicated adjustment of the claims of the man and his relatives and those of the woman. The millet garden is commonly spoken of as belonging to the man,[2] because it is he who originally cleared the ground for it. But a married man is described as making a garden for his wife. He may make a separate field of his own as does a chief,[3] but his wife's *citemene* is his first charge, and a polygamist must clear a millet patch for each wife and build each a granary. This duty is stressed at the wedding ceremony, when the

[1] When measuring the contents of granaries I found the owners sometimes reluctant to allow me inside. In any case other women always fell back and left me and the owner alone.

[2] Cullen Gouldsbury, 'Notes on the Customary Law of the Awemba', *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xv, Jan. 1916, p. 158, emphasizes the man's ownership of the food as against the woman's.

[3] Called an *umulasa* garden in imitation of the chief's garden made by tribute labour and belonging exclusively to him, as distinct from his wives. With the prevailing shortage of labour, husbands are rarely able to make two gardens, one for themselves and one for their wives. I only saw three described as *ayo umulasa* in 1933–4.

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bridegroom is abjured by his father-in-law 'to cut trees' for his bride, and the work is so clearly part of the economic contract that a man telling his life history usually uses the phrase, 'Then I married and made my wife a garden.' I have even heard an elderly Bemba describe a widowed sister dependent on him as his wife, when giving answers for a Government census. Brother-and-sister incest is considered a horrible crime even within the classificatory degree, but the obligations to cut trees for a wife is so clearly recognized that the old man explained, 'She is my wife because I make her a garden.'

Hence the millet garden is the man's, although the use of the crop is given to the wife. But her rights are not absolute. They depend strictly on the continuance of the marriage, are forfeited by divorce or death, and are subject to the claims of the husband's relatives, who, since they live in another village, are constantly apprehensive lest they do not get their dues. If divorce takes place through the woman's fault, the husband's kinswomen can take the grain. Cases of this kind occur fairly frequently. At a village near Chinsali, a young woman refused to live with her husband because of his hot temper, and was unable to persuade her brother to give his 14-year-old daughter as a substitute, according to the old Bemba custom.[1] The injured husband retired to his own family's village to await events. After a few weeks a file of six women with empty baskets on their heads appeared from that direction. The wife's relatives stood aghast at the doors of their huts muttering, '*Yangwe!* They have come to take the grain.' They could only watch while the husband's kinswomen lifted the roof of the granary, emptied its contents, and left with their baskets full, after a brisk exchange of obscene abuse between both parties. A man's mother and sisters are his proper representatives on such an occasion and frequently intervene in this way.

On the other hand, if it is the husband who breaks up the marriage he will find it difficult to exercise his legal claims to the food remaining in the family granary. I was once present when a disreputable youth in a modern village decided to leave his wife and go off with another woman. Before doing so he placed a conditional curse on the cassava, sweet potatoes, and other remaining foodstuffs. The deserted wife retaliated by wailing in public on the village garden beds, with the support of her mother and sisters, for at least

[1] The *mpokoleshi* marriage previously described.

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commensurable value to the incommensurable gratitude, friendship, or respect which he wants to express. He prefers to exchange his coins for some other object, possibly of far less practical value to the recipient. The African chief, on the contrary, is more flattered on receiving a coin, however small, than anything else, because, as he says: 'money is respect (*umucinshi*)'. Small coins are constantly used as presents of honour to relatives, and it is quite common for a servant who wants to make an elegant gift to his white master to do so by presenting him with a threepenny or a sixpenny bit. Sums of money are used as compensation in cases of injury or insult.

In particular ceremonies money again performs special functions. At a marriage or an initiation rite coins are used instead of the old bark-cloth, and also as a payment for ritual services or as a means of removing taboos. Sixpence or a shilling may be offered to the woman who lights a girl's fire on the morning after her marriage, to those who whitewash the hut after a funeral ceremony, or to remove a taboo on eating. At the ceremonial founding of the chief's new village there is now a fixed tariff ranging from 1*s.* to 10*s.* for the hereditary priests who are in charge of the rites, such as the lighter of the sacred fire, the opener of the sacred relic huts, or those who purify the chief, wake him ceremonially in the morning, or beat his hereditary drum. In all these cases the coins are used as valuables much as the ivory tusks, cloth, or bracelets of old days were employed, and their rarity makes them the most suitable objects available at the present day.

With this special attitude to money, it is not surprising that the Bemba still consider it waste to use coins for the purchase of food. money is too rare and too hardly come by to be thrown away on a commodity that can be got in some other way. Only a few years before my visit an old woman was discovered dying of starvation in a disused hut on the motor road with a 2*s.* piece tied in a fold of her cloth. It had apparently never occurred to her to use the money to buy supplies on her journey to the mines to look for her son. Younger people have naturally changed in this respect, but it is still true to say that money is never 'wasted' (*ukuposa*) on food unless it is absolutely necessary, as it is near the white towns. Even then the transition to a sale from a gift from a kinsman or a subject is a very gradual one. People buying from relatives pay less than the normal rate, and usually add some service to the transaction Chiefs buying from subjects, as we shall see, pay nominal

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fire when it is first placed to the breast, or when the cord falls off (*ukumwalawila*). If its father is away and the ceremony of 'taking the child' cannot take place, the baby is given medicine (*umuti wa lueshya*). The mother and the midwife extinguish the old fire, mud the hut and light a new fire. Then they carry the baby to the men's shelter where there are presumably many youths 'with heat' or 'with bad things', or to a kitchen where the people have been known not to have done the purification ceremony. In this dangerous company, they give the baby gruel cooked on the new fire to make it immune. The rite of *ukumukokotola* is a ceremonial spitting of raw food on the baby by a menstruating woman so that the baby can be safely touched by a woman who is in this condition. All these methods are believed to secure immunity on homoeopathic principles.

The chief's sacred fire, the fire of the land, must be protected with even greater care. It is placed in a separate hut and watched by a senior wife, past child bearing. The chief's food is usually cooked by a man and not a woman.

To remove the dangers due to sex intercourse a special ceremony is required and this is one which can only be performed by a legally married couple. Hence the close links between the rules of ritual and those governing marriage ties, and the great importance of magic belief in determining the strength of the marital relationship. At marriage each girl is presented by her paternal aunt with a miniature pot about 2½ inches in diameter which must be guarded with the utmost secrecy. With this the purification rite is carried out. It is filled with water and placed on the fire, man and wife each holding the rim. Water from the pot is then poured by the wife on to her husband's hands, and some say on to the wife's as well. New 'pure' fire is then relit either by means of fire-sticks, or, as is usual nowadays, with matches. This apparently simple rite is the essential act which removes the condition of hotness from the body of man and wife and renders them free to touch a hearth with impunity or to approach the ancestral spirits. Some say that it used to be performed after each sex act and others that it was merely done before some ceremony of special undertaking such as harvesting. It is still spoken of with the utmost secrecy and shyness and still survives even in the face of strong opposition from

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The Marriage Contract

The ceremonial admission of the son-in-law to the wife's village takes place in stages throughout the next few months or even years. These include: 584

(*d*) *The food offerings.* The ceremonial offering of cooked food to the bridegroom is considered exceedingly important by the Bemba and both parties to the marriage watch eagerly to see if the presents have been made with due respect. When first betrothed the young man may not eat the gifts of food sent him by his mother-in-law as he is still keeping food taboos. He divides the food among his friends. Then one of his supporters is bound to say casually 'The stranger's child (i.e. the outsider) is wasting with hunger'. This is a hint that the big feast of admission of the son-in-law should take place. All the bride's family are asked to bring beer, meat or porridge and each dish must be covered carefully with a basket and a small gift, such as a bangle, laid on top. Bemba delight to describe this feast in great detail and it is represented in mime in the chisungu ceremony. The bride's family then says to the mother of the bridegroom 'We have shown the son-in-law the fire, now he will eat food with us'. The boy nevertheless has to be made free to eat each different food used by the tribe. He is given a small dish of porridge one day, then beans, then meat, then fish. This is known as the formal presentation. Similar ceremonial removal of taboos takes place with regard to the bride entering her husband's village among some of the Southern Bantu.

(*e*) *The handing over of the bride.* The giving of the bride to her husband also takes place in a number of stages. At first the young man asks for someone to sweep his hut and to fetch him water and his betrothed may be allowed to do this for him. Having gradually won the right to her domestic services, payment gives him the privilege of taking his young bride to sleep with him. This stage of the marriage continues until the young girl is about to reach puberty when her mother will take her away for fear she bears a child before her chisungu ceremony.

(*f*) After this comes the chisungu ceremony which is the subject of this book and this is followed by the consummation of the marriage. The bride must be tempted by gifts to enter her husband's hut. Ritual surrounds the first act of intercourse, and when the marriage is consummated the bridegroom throws a 585

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585 burning log out of his hut to the crowd of waiting relatives outside. This is proof of his virility: the women shrill their plaudits and the men shout. The bride is given her marriage pot at dawn by her father's sister, and then follows the presentation of the bride and bridegroom to the community. Later comes the setting up of the fire-place for the girl and still later, perhaps after a year or two, the giving to the son-in-law of his granary and his garden.

421 The form of social structure I have described exists in a culture in which there is no permanent form of property, such as land or cattle, which could bind the members of a kinship group together or link one generation with the next. Consequently, social relations in Bemba society consist very largely of the giving and receiving of services.

556 622 606 604 Wealth consists of the power to command service such as a chief calls for from his subjects, a headman from his villagers, a father-in-law from his son-in-law, or a mother's brother from his maternal nephews. Service could also be demanded in the old days from surrounding tribes which were raided for slaves.

556 Service makes it possible for a man to put big fields under cultivation, to build a big granary and hence to be able to feed more workers in another year.

622 Service was given to the chief in return for food provided at the capital and also the supernatural powers on which the people believed they depended. Service was given to the headmen from some of these motives also, but the headman was also usually a relative and he received these dues in his capacity as head of a kinship group. Those not so closely related he had to attract by a nice mixture of authority and the formal expression of courtesy.

576 622 In such a society the ceremonial expression of respect by kneeling to a superior, clapping hands before him, offering him food in a specially formal fashion, or even rolling on the back is characteristic. Men should creep into the presence of their chief, throw themselves over on their backs and roll from side to side clapping their hands; the abject humility of the gesture is striking to the European observer. In such circumstances it will be readily understood that the father-in-law attracts his son-in-law not only by the economic support he provides but by much formal giving of food

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The Ceremony

881 576 431 oiled, usually shaved and dressed in new clothes and he sits in silence in front of the villagers. These come up in order of seniority and throw small presents on the mat and scold the person who has reached the new status for any faults he has been guilty of in his previous state. This is the *ukushikula*.

On this occasion each of the newly initiated girls sat on a mat with a real or potential husband at their sides. Their kinsmen came up shouting home truths at them as they dropped small bracelets or coins in a basket at their feet. The offerings were then gathered up by Nangoshye and distributed among her helpers. The chisungu rite was at an end.

The wedding ceremony

881 585 The wedding ceremony should have followed closely on the chisungu rite. It consists of the carrying of the bride to her husband's house, the consummation of the marriage when the bridegroom throws a burning faggot out of the door of the hut; and the ritual inauguration of the marriage pot of the young pair. There is [576 431] a further *ukushikula* when the father of the girl gives the young bridegroom an arrow with which to protect her honour. The wedding ceremony was not performed for either of these two girls. One was not betrothed and the bridegroom of the other was at the mines.

881 CALENDAR OF EVENTS AT CHISUNGU PERFORMED AT CHINSALI, NORTH-EASTERN RHODESIA, IN 1931

1*st Day* *Entry into the hut* (*Ukuingishya*)
The blessing of the girls.
The hiding of the girls (*ukusakila*).
The first jump.
The first triumphant return to the village.
The teasing of the girls.

7*th Day* *The first woodland ceremony.*
The gardening mimes.
Honouring the *musuku* tree.
Preparation of the emblem bundles.

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593 much more comparative information is needed before adequate ones can be given.

X881 581 842 Another apparent paradox is the contrast between the position of the bridegroom in daily life, and the role in which he is depicted in the chisungu. In village affairs he must be submissive and quiet, as befits a stranger. He works under the orders of his in-laws and only gradually wins his position as head of his own family. In the chisungu he appears as a roaring lion, a lion-killer, a crocodile, a hunter, a warrior and a chief. The bridegroom in a matrilineal society of the Bemba type is honoured as a *genitor*, not as a *pater*. The bride belongs to her own matrilineage and the bridegroom is allowed access to her to make her fertile. He is welcomed in the village as a procreator, and honoured as such.[1] The bride's family is indebted to the bridegroom for 'the gift of a child'. In the chisungu rite it is the bridegroom's sister who 'begs for parenthood'. The virility of the bridegroom is emphasized throughout the rite, and the marriage ceremony which follows is a test of his procreative powers; he must give a sign of his potency by throwing a burning brand out of the house on his marriage night. The chastity of the girl is not praised either in the chisungu or the marriage ceremonies. It is sociologically irrelevant in societies of this type.

● [585]

842 171 We might expect to find some kind of association between this kind of matrilineal organization and ritual stresses on fertility, such as tests of the virility of the man or a ritual marking of the first conception. I think evidence for it exists. Among the Fort Jameson Cewa the virility of the man is tested by a fire-lighting ordeal in the bush. If the fire lights, the man is known to be potent. The Nyanja give ritual stress to the conception of the first, sometimes the second, child of a union. The Yao sacralize puberty. Yao puberty rites lead to a marriage ceremony, and marriage ceremonies are followed by a celebration of the birth of the first child of the union. An obsolete Yao rite apparently honoured the virility of the man after his wife had been found to be pregnant. It seems possible that the Bemba ceremony of 'taking the child' is a

[1] Yao informants told Clyde Mitchell that a son-in-law was just like a rooster who comes into the yard to fertilize the hens but never owns them. Bemba fathers have more extensive powers than Yao fathers but they are depicted in the same light in proverbs and folk-tales.

601 [605] sister's child or the mother's brother's child. Cross-cousin marriage is, as has been said, the preferential marriage, and joking relationships exist between a man and his female cross-cousins on either side.

In the first ascending generation, a man uses the term *tata* for his own father, his father's brothers, real and classificatory, and the husband of a woman whom he calls mother. He uses the term *mayo* for his own mother and her sisters, real or classificatory. He distinguishes his father's sister by a special term, *mayo senge*, from his mother's sisters and the mother's brother by a separate term, *yama*, from his father's brother. In the first descending generation, there is a common term, *mwana*, used for both sexes, but a man calls the children of his sister by a special term, *mwipwa*, and a woman calls the children of her brother either *mwipwa* or *mwana senge*.

In the second ascending generation there is a common term, *shikulu*, for the paternal and maternal grandfathers, real or classificatory, and *mama* for grandmother. In the second ascending generation the same term, *mweshikulu*, is used for boys and girls, whether the children of daughters or the children of sons. The common term, *bukwe*, is used for spouses and members of the *lupwa*, although there is a special term for sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, *shifyala* or *najyala*. These terms are used reciprocally.

CHANGES IN MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY DUE TO EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

797 177 Changes in marriage and the family have resulted both from the teaching of Christian missions and also because of the absences of adult males, who leave home to earn the means wherewith to pay tax and buy European goods. Missionary teaching has, as in other areas, been directed against the practice of polygyny and divorce. Missionaries have also opposed the practice of giving young girls to their husbands before puberty. They have endeavoured also to eradicate the magical attitudes towards sex and fire, described in a later section - attitudes which form one of the sanctions of marriage morality. They have been largely successful in their attempt to prevent the celebration of girls' initiation ceremonies (*cisungu*

797 177 585 Native marriage is recognised in this area. The British South Africa Company recognised the Native Customary Law from the start and administered it through district magistrates' courts with the aid of Bemba assessors. Simultaneously the Missions instituted various Christian ceremonials in which a restricted(1) form of traditional marriage ceremony was carried out With the institution in 1929 of Native Courts of Law, all civil actions arising out of marriage were referable to them and not to a European Magistrate. An early missionary claim to regulate marriages was quashed in 1934. Native marriages may now be registered.

LABOUR MIGRATION

167 464 Although it is generally recognized that labour migration has been an

(1) Without initiation rites and full ceremonial, e.g. post-initiation intercourse.